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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANALYTIC GENITIVE IN GERMANIC. II

We turn now to the study of the origin of the analytic objective genitive. The theories of the origin of the older synthetic objective genitive have been given above. The analytic form has sprung up within historic times and its entire development lies clearly before us. It is of composite origin, originating in the ideas of source and reference. The oldest example known to the writer is from the ninth century from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 244: "Ond he purh pæt ge his peode ge eac pam cynnum Scotta and Peohta . . . mid arfæstnesse his sylena of pam goodum pe he from ricum monnum onfeng swipe bricsade," "And he thereby greatly benefited his people as well as the nations of the Scots and Picts by his piety in giving away the property which he received from the rich." A careful study of this passage will reveal the idea of source here. At first the partitive idea suggests itself. Mr. Thomas Miller's translation of this passage which has been here appended to the original certainly conveys the impression that he does not feel the conception as of a partitive nature. The literal rendering brings out the force of the original: "by the piety of his gifts of [i.e., from] the goods which he had received from the rich." He made many gifts, drawing each time from the stores that the rich had given him. Closely related to the idea of source is the conception of composition: "ða giue of ðe hali gaste" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 21), "the gift of [i.e., consisting of] the Holy Ghost."

There is a second idea in this category—the idea of reference: “and wæs gemersad mersong *of him* in all stoue ðaes londes” (Luke 4:37, Lindisfarne MS), “and the fame of [i.e., with reference to, about] him went out into every place of the country round about.” The Corpus Version has the older synthetic form: “ða wæs *his* hlisa gewidmærsod,” etc. The Lindisfarne version follows the Latin model: “et diuulgabatur fama de illo,” etc. The Latin itself is a development of the older synthetic genitive: “fama *sui* frui” (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 13), “to enjoy what they said about him.” We find also the synthetic form in the Lindisfarne MS, both in the English and in the Latin: “in ðæm tid geherde [herodes] mersung *hælendes*” (Matt. 14:1), “in illo tempore audiit herodes famam iesu.” The Lindisfarne glossarist in every case simply followed the Latin. Both forms existed in both languages. Also in other expressions this glossarist followed the Latin original: “ne is ðe gemeniso *of* oðrum ne forðon eft-sces aweðu wlit monna” (Matt. 22:16,) “non est tibi cura *de* aliquo non enim respicis personam hominum,” “nor is there in thee fear *of* others, for thou does not regard the person of men.” A few such examples are the only ones that the writer has been able to find. They are all confined to the Lindisfarne MS. They all follow the Latin closely and yet the writer has absolute confidence in the idiomatic quality of the English. The different Germanic peoples were developing a desire for a clearer expression of the idea of reference than that furnished them by the old colorless synthetic genitive. To show this widespread tendency we give in different languages the text of Luke 4:37, the English of which has just been given from the Lindisfarne MS: “jah usiddja meripa *from* imma” (Wulfila), “liumunt uzgieng thurah alle thie lantscaf *fon* imo” (Tatian 17:8), “och ryktet *om* honom gick ut” (modern Swedish). This tendency was also strong in Latin and Greek, but these languages are scarcely the source of the Germanic development. The inadequacy of the old synthetic genitive was obviously the common cause.

Now the question arises: Are the two little Old English groups of objective genitives mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs—the one containing the idea of source, the other the idea of reference—strong enough to have been able to establish the new analytic objec-

tive genitive as we have it today with its broad boundaries? Even though they were both more strongly represented in dialect than in the literary language, it does not seem probable that they could have been the real nucleus of this category. Formal elements played a bigger rôle. The position of the objective genitive before the noun was often quite ambiguous. It could often not be distinguished from the subjective genitive. Gradually it became common to place the objective genitive after the noun: "mid lufan þæs uplecan rices" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 298), "[he was inspired] with the love of the heavenly kingdom." It would seem that this simple differentiation would find an immediate recognition, but in spite of the evident need of a consistent uniform differentiation, the old synthetic genitive remained in a large number of cases quite firmly attached to the place before the noun. Perhaps a deep-seated feeling associated it often still with the possessive genitive from which it in part developed. In 1200 A.D. we still find the verb before the noun even where it requires a close study of the connection to distinguish it from the subjective genitive: "Karitas, pat is, godes luue and mannes" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 35), "charity, that is, the love of God and man." Alongside the old form we often find the new analytic form in this same book: "for ðe luue of gode" (*ibid.*, p. 21). Where did the "of" come from? Is it the genitive of reference mentioned above? If this view were true we should expect to find here in modern Swedish *om* instead of "of." The Swede in most cases uses here *af*, the form which he employs to express the partitive idea, and the idea of material or composition. The frequent use of *af* instead of the old partitive synthetic genitive and the genitive of material gave to this form the force of a genitive and hence it is used in other genitive categories instead of the old synthetic form. The situation is not as clear in English, for we should use "of" for the idea of reference, and the analytic objective genitive may have developed out of this common meaning. It seems, however, fairly certain that "of," which was in the Old English period freely used instead of a synthetic partitive genitive and was also employed instead of the synthetic form in the categories of material, composition, origin, source, and possession, was quite deeply felt as a new genitive form capable of taking the place of the old synthetic form at any place where the

old form was unclear or lacked a distinctive ending. In this last example from *Vices and Virtues* "of" took the place of the old synthetic form which in the position after the noun had been entirely abandoned on account of its lack of distinctive endings. If the synthetic genitive *godes* had been used here it would have been identical in form with the plural genitive, hence the synthetic form was naturally avoided. Even where the synthetic genitive would be perfectly clear it was not used after the middle of the twelfth century in the position *after* the governing noun. The writer has not been able to find anywhere in this period the form "for pe luue Cristes," although "for Cristes luue" with the same meaning is common. The synthetic genitive after the noun would in this expression be perfectly clear, and it does not violate the law of immediate contact described above. The reason for its rejection, however, is evident. The synthetic genitive was so often rejected in the position after the noun because it was ambiguous or violated the law of immediate contact that it was in general avoided in this position and disappeared here absolutely.

Thus at this time there were two objective genitives, the synthetic form *before* the noun and the analytic *after* it. Modern Swedish still preserves this older order of things: "krutets uppfinning," or "uppfinning af krutet," "the invention of gun-powder." After 1200 A.D. the English synthetic genitive in the position before the noun gradually became less common here. It is still the rule with personal pronouns, as illustrated and explained above under the possessive genitive, but with nouns it is now very little used. A few examples of this limited use with nouns are given below under the subjective genitive. The meaning of English "of" had a force better adapted to wide use in the objective category than Swedish *af*. In English "of" and Swedish *af* lie the meanings *source* and *composition*, but in English "of" there was also the very common idea of *reference*. This wide range of graphic meanings suitable to use in the objective category often led to the use of "of." Thus in "his gift *of service and money*" the words in italics are not only mere grammatical objective genitives, but also beautiful concrete pictures—"a gift consisting of service and money." The "of" was especially suitable for the expression of the very common idea of reference:

"His account of his travels," "a full report of the debate," "hope of promotion," "dreams of glory," etc. Thus the usage of employing "of" for the expression of the ideas of source, composition, and reference, which had already in Old English begun to develop, has been one of the factors that have gradually brought about the victory of the analytic over the synthetic form in the objective category. Otherwise the situation today would be more as it is in Swedish. The old synthetic form in the position before the noun would still be largely used.

The question arises whether the French *de* has in any way affected the English development here. The closest study does not show the slightest influence at any point. The use of the analytic form at the beginning of the Middle English period was merely a matter of word-order. The synthetic genitive before the noun was preserved, while the analytic genitive entirely supplanted the synthetic form after the noun on account of the defective inflection of the synthetic genitive. Swedish with a much fuller synthetic inflection shows the same development. English differs only in that the analytic form has gained a more complete victory. This resulted from two causes—the growing tendency to differentiate the objective from the subjective genitive by the word-order and the growing fondness for the expressive meaning of "of." The first of these tendencies is very old and gradually and uninterruptedly increased in force. This tendency alone amply explains the development of the analytic form. It also has been an important factor in the Swedish development. In Swedish, however, it never became so strong, for the whole development in Swedish shows that the strongest tendency was to reduce all shades of adnominal relations outside of the partitive category and closely allied groups to the possessive idea out of which they may once have all come. This tendency brought all genitives as far as possible into the place before the noun and thus preserved to a remarkable extent the synthetic form. Alongside the English tendency to use the analytic form for the purpose of differentiating it from the subjective genitive was the pronounced fondness for the clear and forcible meaning of "of," which thus helped to establish the analytic form.

The German, in general, remained true to the old synthetic

genitive. Originally it stood before the governing noun and had the sentence accent. This older order of things is preserved in many compounds: *Göttesfurcht*, *Ménschenhass*, *Ménschenliebe*, etc. As in English, the objective genitive gradually became fixed in the position after the noun: "die Erziehung der Kinder," etc. The old synthetic form is replaced by the analytic form only in case of articleless abstract nouns denoting material when used in a *partitive* sense or articleless plurals of concrete nouns when the reference is to an *indefinite* number: "Menschenbedürfnis konnte zumeist ohne viel Bitten auf ein Vorsetzen *von* Speise und Trank rechnen"; "Auch die Japaner sind lebhaft mit dem Aufwerfen *von* Verschanzungen beschäftigt." The use of the definite article of the synthetic genitive would make the reference too definite.

At one point the English and German have developed very differently. The objective genitive after verbal derivatives in English *-ing* can be replaced by an accusative object: "He listened without once interrupting *me*." The genitive can also be used: "the building *of the bridge*." In Old English, of course, the synthetic genitive was used. In German it is still the usual form: "die Plünderung *der Stadt*." English differs from German in that the verbal force in the derivative noun is often felt so vividly that it requires the usual verbal construction, i.e., an accusative instead of a genitive object. The development as it is found in modern English is one of the most terse and flexible constructions known in any language. One who is accustomed to using it finds a language like German with its highly developed hypotaxis very poky and clumsy. A few examples will illustrate the difference of construction: "I left the room without his seeing me," "Ich verliess das Zimmer, ohne dass er mich gesehen hätte"; "After saying this he went away," "Nachdem er dies gesagt hatte, ging er fort." The history of the English gerund has been given in an independent article.¹

The German has a difficulty in the objective category unknown to English. The objective genitive usually corresponds only to the accusative with verbs and hence is avoided with nouns derived from verbs which govern a genitive or dative: "Er zürnt *mir*," but "sein Zorn *auf mich*"; "Sie widerstanden den Römern," but

¹ *Englische Studien*, XLV (1912), 349-80.

"Der Widerstand *gegen die Römer*." The use of a preposition with its dependent noun is in many cases here well established, but in many other cases is not in use at all, and under the pressure of dire necessity good writers are sometimes forced to employ the objective genitive here in spite of the stern injunction of grammarians: "Diesen [i.e., "den gewohnheitsmässigen Spielern"] Unterkunft zur Fröhnung *ihres Lasters* zu gewähren" (leader in *Hamburger Nachrichten*, June 27, 1905). The writer has an interesting collection of such flagrant violations of grammatical convention and has often searched for the underlying principles upon which this convention rests. He has grown gray in the study of German grammar and yet he has not educated himself up to the point where he feels that this usage is bad grammar. Over against his, a foreigner's feeling, is the feeling of a great native German scholar whom he profoundly admires, and whom, from now on, he will sadly miss: "die *Huldigung des Fürsten, zur Abhilfe dieses Misstandes, zum Gedächtnis der Tat* klingen leicht hart" (Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III, 601). As quoted above Professor Wilmanns himself has explained that the objective genitive is a genitive of reference or specification. If this be true these genitives are perfectly in place. In a number of cases the genitive may contain the possessive idea. A deep-seated feeling for these meanings of the genitive has led many distinguished German writers to use it here. We find in older English this same objective genitive: "gefylledre wilsumnesse and ðære ðenunge *pæs eadigan martyres*" (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 38), "the devotion and the serving of the holy martyr having been completed." The genitive *martyres* is dependent upon *ðenunge* which is derived from *denian*, a verb governing the dative. Old English authors did not regard this genitive as ungrammatical.

The development of the German and English objective genitive has been presented only in its simplest outlines. It is a very important category and has in both languages developed many peculiar forms. The full treatment of these peculiarities would become of itself a good-sized treatise. The writer hopes to present his materials upon some other occasion.

We turn from the objective to the subjective genitive, which stands in strong contrast to it. It is the only genitive category which

did not in Old English develop the analytic form. The reason is quite evident. The old synthetic form is still, even today, strongly entrenched in the subjective category. Of course, it was as firmly entrenched in Old English: "heora Scyppendes tocyme" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies of Ælfric*, p. 27), "the coming of their creator"; "ures Hælendes prowunge" (*ibid.*, p. 34), "our Lord's suffering"; "purh Cristes lare" (*ibid.*, p. 35), "through Christ's teaching"; "purh Godes fultum" (*ibid.*, p. 37), "by God's help," and countless other examples. On the one hand, this genitive is closely related to the possessive genitive which preferred the position before the governing noun. On the other hand, there was already at this time a tendency to differentiate the possessive genitive by placing it before the noun and putting the subjective genitive after it. In spite of the close relation of the subjective genitive to the possessive category, the tendency to differentiate them had become strong in Ælfric's day: "for peowracan sweartra deofla" (*ibid.*, p. 69), "on account of the threats of black demons," and many other examples. Thus in Ælfric's time the situation was much as it is today—the subjective genitive may either precede or follow the noun. Of course, after the loss of the declensions the synthetic genitive that followed the noun was replaced by the analytic: "chiueringe of toðen" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 18), "the gnashing of teeth"; "ðese hali lare of ðe hali gast" (*ibid.*, p. 61), "this holy admonition of the Holy Ghost." The oldest examples of the analytic form here known to the writer belong to the twelfth century. It seems quite probable that the analytic form in the second example might even have been used before the loss of the inflections, for the idea of source is here so prominent that it might have suggested the use of "of" long before the lack of inflectional endings made it necessary. The writer has, however, found no examples of such usage. In general, the synthetic form here resulted from the loss of inflection.

Although, in general, the position of the genitive is much the same in this category today as it was in Ælfric's day, there is in our time a much sharper differentiation between the subjective and the objective genitive. The synthetic subjective genitive precedes the noun and the analytic objective form follows it: "the teacher's praise of the pupil." The two analytic forms may follow the noun

if different prepositions be used: "the capture of *the city* [object] by *the Japanese*" [subject]; "the admonition of *the father* [subject] to *his son*" [object]; "the contempt of *the Japanese* [subject] for *death*" [object]. The differentiation that places the synthetic subjective genitive before the noun and the analytic objective form after it, though in general well established, has not yet gained a complete victory. The older order of things that permitted a synthetic objective genitive to stand before the noun is still found: "*his* defeat," "*their* banishment from the city," "*her* punishment," "the *boy's* punishment," "the *child's* education"; sometimes even in the case of the name of a thing: "the *city's* capture by the Japanese," etc.

We turn now to the genitive of characteristic. In oldest Germanic the synthetic genitive is the form used to give the characteristic or distinguishing quality of a person or thing. The beginnings of the analytic form go back to oldest Germanic, but it was employed at first only in more external characterization to distinguish one individual from another by naming the town or country from which he came: "Wasuh pan sums siuks, Lazarus *af* Bepanias" (Wulfila, John 11:1), "Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus of Bethany." In the ninth century the analytic genitive is extended in both England and Germany to designations of origin with regard to race and class. It is used in both the adnominal and the predicate relation: "wæs pær sum munuc of Scotta cynne" (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 302), "There was a monk of Scottish race"; "pæt he ne wæs of *pearfendum folce*" (*ibid.*, p. 328), "that he was not of the poor class." This usage was already common at this time, especially in England, as attested by the many examples the writer has collected. The impelling force was not defective declensions, but the desire for a clearer and more vivid expression for this idea than was then afforded by the old colorless synthetic genitive. Characterization in all these examples came from the idea of source. In many other cases the characterization came from the broad idea of possession: "Min rice nys of ðyson middan-earde" (Corpus, John 18:36), "my kingdom is not of this world"; i.e., "my kingdom does not belong to this earth." This form of characterization is also old, as can be seen from the Gothic version of this same passage: "piudan-gardi meina nist us pamma fairhwau." Possession is here found

in the new sense, the idea of an integral part as discussed above. This new development also took place in German and Swedish: "Mein Reich ist nicht *von* dieser Welt"; "Mitt rike är icke *af* denna världen."

Although the new form was clearly established in Old English, the older possessive idea as expressed by the old synthetic genitive still continued to flourish. There is, however, one important change to be noted—the gradual shifting of the genitive from the position *before* the noun to the place *after* it: "in weorcum ælmesdæda" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 374), "for works of charity"; "boc ongryslicre gesihðe and unmættre micelnisse" (*ibid.*, p. 438), "a book of dreadful appearance and monstrous size"; "swyle leoht engelices ondwlitan" (*ibid.*, p. 362), "such a light of angelic appearance." After the loss of the declensions the synthetic form here was uniformly replaced by the analytic. This new form with "of" cannot be distinguished from the older group that in Old English took "of" for the sake of its forcible meaning. Thus in the following examples from 1200 A.D. we cannot distinguish from which group the "of" came: "menn of ðe world" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 7), "se ðe is of harde hierte" (*ibid.*, p. 61), etc.

Alongside the Old English word-order with the synthetic genitive of characteristic *after* the governing noun the older order with the synthetic genitive *before* the noun remained common throughout the Old English period: "se Godes wer" (Bede, p. 394), "this man of God"; "micelre geearnunge mæssepreost" (*ibid.*, p. 414), "a priest of high merit," etc. The conception of possession was originally the controlling idea here, but the conception of characterization easily developed out of it. Like the possessive genitive the genitive of characterization often preferred the place before the noun. This position was at first natural because the genitive in general preferred the position before the noun. It was later in the Old English period natural because descriptive adjectives had become firmly fixed in the position before the noun, and hence the genitive of the characteristic with its strong descriptive force often remained in this position instead of joining the general movement of the other genitives to a place after the noun. It has become so firmly fixed in this place that it is still often found there in spite of the fact that this position has largely

become restricted to the possessive genitive. We usually differentiate this synthetic genitive characteristic from the possessive genitive by stronger stress: "In our street lives a millionaire. This millionaire's [unstressed poss. gen.] two sons are quite sensible young fellows," but "This young chap wants us to feel that he is a *millionaire's* [stressed gen. of characteristic] son"; "California is *God's* [stressed gen. of characteristic] own country." Stress and lively tone still make this old form serviceable in spoken speech. In the written language the analytic form would in most cases be used. The old synthetic genitive is, however, still quite common in both written and spoken language where the characterization is in the form of a measurement or a definite designation of time: "a boat's length," "an hour's ride," "without a moment's thought," "yesterday's newspaper," etc. The synthetic form is in most cases more common here than the analytic, as the idea of characterization is not prominent, but where the conception of characterization enters into the thought the analytic form becomes more natural: "In such an important matter the thought of *a moment* is not sufficiently mature." We say: "today's newspapers," but "the political ideals of *today* are quite different from those of *yesterday*."

We have an interesting misunderstood survival of the old synthetic genitive of characteristic in "all kinds" as in "all kinds of men." In *Vices and Virtues* we find "alles kennes metes," "meats of every kind." Here "alles kennes" is a genitive of characteristic. We also find the genitive plural instead of the singular: "fuwer kinne teares" (*Old English Homilies*, I, 151), "tears of four kinds." The following noun was later construed as a genitive, which led to "all kinds or kind [originally gen. plural, later felt as an indeclinable collective noun] of meats," etc. The collective use of "kind" is still found in Shakespeare: "These kind of knaves" (*Lear*, II, ii, 107). We hear "kind of" used today as an adverb: "I feel kind of sick."

The older genitive of characteristic, as in "a *four hours'* ride," has today a strong rival in a younger adjective construction, as in "a four-hour ride." The younger construction is now much more widely used, often where the genitive is not employed at all: "a *five-pound* perch," "a *two-mile* ride," "a *two-inch* board," "a *two-gallon* bucket," "an *up-to-date* machine," etc. The genitive can

be used only for measurements and designations of time and even there only to a limited extent. We say: "an *eight hours'* trip," but "an eight-hour working-day"; "a *two days'* ride," but "an all-day ride"; "today's paper," but "the *Sunday* edition"; "a boat's length," but "a *twelve-foot* plank"; etc. The origin of such adjective elements is the Old English compound. Originally the accent was upon the first syllable, as in "chúrchyard" ("gráveyard"). The accent of "chúrchyard" is still in harmony with the Old English law that stressed the first word in a group of words which modified a noun. Later at the close of the Old English period the sentence accent shifted to the last word in the group as in "the child's *father*." This new movement affected English compounds in part. The older accent remained wherever the parts of the compounds had thoroughly fused forming a distinct oneness of conception, as in "stóne-quarry," "stóne-oak" (*quercus Javensis*), "chúrchyard" ("gráveyard"), etc. Wherever the fusion was not so thorough the accent shifted upon the second element just as elsewhere in adnominal elements: "a stone hóuse," "the church yárd" (the yard belonging to the church), etc. The same thing sometimes took place also in German: "Nicht die Gartentúr, sondern die Gartenmáuer ist beschädigt." The conditions, however, were markedly different in the two languages. The adjective lost its inflection in Middle English very early in the North and later also elsewhere. The first element of those compounds in which the parts had not fused thoroughly was felt as an adjective, for it had the descriptive force and the weak sentence stress of adjectives. The full adjective inflection in German kept the first element of the compound distinct from adjectives and thus the parts of the compound did not drift apart and the unity of the form was usually indicated by the accent upon the first element except where for logical reasons the second element was stressed as in the above example. The peculiar development in English made it possible to use almost any noun or even a group of words as an adjective. This construction has become very productive in English and is one of the marked advantages that it possesses.

The construction described in the preceding paragraph began to develop in late Old English and became clearly marked in the course of Middle English. The construction originated in adnominal

function. It was only natural that it should later be extended to use in the predicate: "The plank is not *the right length*"; "The boys were *the same size, the same age*"; "It's *no use*"; "The house was *a dark green*"; "*What price* is that article?" Such predicate elements can also stand *after* a noun as they are in fact there in the predicate with the verb understood: "a book *the same size* as this"; "water *the color of pea-soup*." Mr. Sweet in his *New English Grammar*, II, 49, explains such expressions by the omission of "of": "he is [of] the same age," etc. The writer does not feel this construction as slovenly English, but as the extension of the deeply rooted usage which allows any group of words to be used adjectively.

While in English the use of "of" in the genitive of characteristic is in part the result of a fondness for its original force, and in part the result of the decay of the declensions, the German use of *von* has resulted solely from the natural fondness of the people for its original force. The idea of characterization had become so thoroughly associated with *von* in its early use to distinguish a man by his *origin* as to birthplace, race, class, etc., or as *belonging* to some class, etc., that it became a well-understood sign for characterization in general. The fulness of inflectional forms enables the German here to employ the old synthetic form in the position after the noun, and usage still very often permits it, but the analytic form is, in general, more common. Where the synthetic form is employed, it now follows the governing noun. The original position before the noun, which is still preserved in English, is found in German only in compounds: *Teufelskerl*, *Teufelskind*, etc.

Modern Swedish, in harmony with its general tendency to place the synthetic form before the governing noun wherever it is possible, still preserves the older usage of placing the genitive of characteristic before the noun: "en ärans man," "a man of honor." The analytic form is also found: "en man of ära." The strong Swedish fondness for the synthetic form is easily seen by comparison with the German or English. The Swedish synthetic form must often be rendered by the analytic form in German and English: "en sjutton års yngling," "a youth of seventeen." In many expressions English cannot follow Swedish in the use of the genitive construction: "en fem markers aborre," "a five-pound perch." English very commonly uses the

synthetical genitive for measure and value, but cannot use it at all for weight.

The appositive genitive has a long and intricate history. The appositive is either in the same case as the governing noun, or is in the genitive. We take up the former construction first. Originally the word that was explained by an appositive in the same case was felt as the theme, the subject that was to be introduced for consideration. In all the older languages of our family the theme word preceded the appositive. As it was the important word it had the sentence stress, so that the following appositive was subordinate to it in accent. This older order of things is best studied in Old English where it is best preserved and where there are multitudes of examples. In the following illustrations italics represent sentence stress: "to *mailros* ðem mynstre" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 424), "to the monastery of *Melrose*"; "bi *Temese* streame" (*ibid.*, p. 282), "by the river *Thames*"; "on *Hii* pæt ealond" (*ibid.*, p. 468), "to the island of *Iona*"; "*wihte* ealond" (*ibid.*, p. 302), "the Isle of *Wight*"; "in cirican *Colone* pære ceastre bii Rine" (*ibid.*, p. 414), "in the church of the city of *Cologne* on the Rhine"; "*Osweo* se cyning" (*ibid.*, p. 234), "king *Oswio*"; "*Theodor* biscop" (*ibid.*, p. 274), "bishop *Theodore*"; "in *Augustus* monþe" (*ibid.*, p. 298), "in the month of *August*," etc. The appositive was sometimes the emphatic element and then according to older usage stood before the word it explained: "Wæs heo eac swylce æpele in woruldgebyrdum, pæt heo wæs pæs *cyninges* Eadwines neafan dohter" (*ibid.*, p. 332), "She was also nobly born in earthly origin as she was a daughter of a nephew of the *king*, Eadwine." The old order with the appositive after the governing noun is preserved in both English and German in a large number of set expressions, especially geographical terms: "die *Hudsonbai*," "Hudson Bay"; "der St. Gothardtunnel," "St. Gothard Tunnel," etc. Usage often differs in the two languages so that the German has the old form and the English the new: "der *Michigansee*," "Lake Michigan," etc. Many of these expressions that have the old form are modern formations, but they are fashioned after the analogy of older geographical terms.

Markedly different from this attributive appositive category is the common construction where the noun stands seemingly like an

appositive after its governing word, but is in fact a predicate affirming something of the preceding noun and as a predicate has sentence stress: "William the *Cónqueror*" (i.e., was a conqueror); "Frederick the *Gréat*" (not a mere title, but the general opinion of posterity); but "King *Frédérick*" ("King" is here a descriptive title, not a predication); "Frederick the *Sécond*" (not a mere title, but a precise statement of fact), but "Prince *Hénry*"; "Lykurg, der *Gesetzgeber Spártas*" (a predication), etc. With regard to word-order and stress this predicate construction has remained unchanged from the earliest times.

Although the old *appositive* form with the appositive after the governing noun was common in Old English, the situation had materially changed by the end of the period. The change here was closely connected with the general movements which affected the word-order of the attributive elements. In oldest English a descriptive adjective often stood after the governing noun. The governing noun was the theme word, the subject under consideration, and hence stood in the important first place. The adjective followed to present it in a fuller light. Already early in the Old English period the adjective showed a marked tendency to move to the position before the noun. Originally only the emphatic adjective stood before the noun. Old alliterative poetry usually shows clearly that the adjective before the noun was stressed, while the descriptive adjective after the noun was without sentence stress. When the descriptive adjective moved to the position before the noun it took its weak sentence stress with it, so that the two old sets of adjectives were still clearly discernible, the weak descriptive adjective with weak stress, and the emphatic adjective with strong stress: "my sick little *bróther*," but "my *little* brother, not my *big* one." The appositive, which also has the nature of a descriptive attributive element, naturally followed descriptive adjectives in their movement to the position before the noun and brought their weak sentence stress with them: "on *pæs cyninges dagum herodes*" (Corpus, Matt. 2:1), "In the days of *Herod* the king" (King James Version), "in *diebus herodis regis*." At a glance it can be seen that the author of the Corpus Version did not follow the Latin. His English order is more modern than that of the King James Version. The appositive stands before the noun it explains and is doubtless unstressed as it is

today. Of course, the appositive could also in older English precede when it was emphatic, but in the case before us it is evidently unstressed. It corresponds to our modern "King *Hérod*," "King *Édward*," etc. The historic stress of both words has been preserved, but their position in the word-order has changed. Mr. Sweet in his *New English Grammar*, II, 11, says that words like "King Alfred" could not have weak stress upon "King" in Old English. The writer believes this opinion rests upon hasty generalization. In the ninth century, as can be seen in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the appositive is usually stressed when it precedes. Usually, however, it follows the noun and has a weak sentence stress. Examples of this usage with the appositive after the noun occur in great numbers, sometimes five or six on one page. When we turn to the close of the tenth century the whole situation has changed. Now the weakly stressed appositive precedes the stressed governing noun: "to *pære byrig Hierúsalem*" (Sweet, *Selected Homilies*, p. 34), "to the city of Jerúsalem"; "se cyning *Aépelbriht*," "King *Éthelbert*" (*ibid.*, p. 62); "pam cyninge *Æpelbrihte*" (*ibid.*, p. 62); "to pam *écebiscope Étherium*" (*ibid.*, p. 63), "to archbishop *Étherium*"; "to pam cyninge *Claúdio*" ("The Harrowing of Hell," Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 140); "his cynehlaford *Claúidium*" (*ibid.*, p. 149), "his royal lord *Claúidium*." The old usage is also found, but not as frequently as the new. Of course, the new form did not come all at once. There were already many cases of it in the ninth century. In one particular category it had at that time become the fixed rule, namely, wherever the appositive was modified by one or more adjectives: "se arwyrða bisceop *Wilfred*" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 304), "the venerable bishop Wilfrid." There are so many such examples in this book that they attract attention, for elsewhere the old form is in general quite consistently used. The reason is evident. The adjectives indicate description, and the appositive with its descriptive force increased by its accompanying descriptive adjectives followed the example of descriptive adjectives which stood in the position before the noun. Similarly the genitive of characteristic modified by a descriptive adjective often stood before its governing noun: "pære eadigan gemynde *Cuðberht*" (*ibid.*, p. 358), "Cuthbert of blessed memory."

When did the new form first appear? In Gothic, the oldest Germanic language, we find: "us baurg *Nazaraib*" (Luke 2:4), "out of the city of Nazareth"; "us *Bethlaiheim* weihsa" (John 7:42), "out of the town of Bethlehem"; "from *kaisara Agustau*" (Luke 2:1); "uf *Haileisaiu* praufetau" (Luke 4:27), "in the time of the prophet Eliseus"; "maiza attin unsaramma *Abrahama*" (John 8:53), "greater than our father *Abraham*"; "wipra *Abraham* attan unsarana" (Luke 1:73). The examples have been given in pairs, the first example in the new form, the second in the old. Both forms were already known. As the author followed the Greek model we cannot judge accurately as to which form is more common. Both forms were good Gothic usage and the author simply followed the original which also had the two forms without differentiation. We see the same condition of things in Old English at the close of the tenth century. Nowhere is the old form so consistently employed as in early Old English. In early Old High German we already find the new form: "dhiu burc hierusalem" (Isodor, 27:8). Early Old English explains the fluctuations of usage in the other Germanic languages. The Old English word-order had in adnominal function retained more of the original character of primitive Germanic than that found in the other languages, and hence there was no pronounced tendency there to move the appositive to the position before the governing noun. Later this movement became prominent as in the other Germanic languages, for the word-order began to undergo a radical change. The appositive gradually came to stand before the noun as in the other languages. Thus we clearly see that the position of the appositive in the place after the noun was the original one, and this throws considerable light upon the original word-order of adnominal elements in the Germanic languages.

We now turn to constructions where the appositive is in the genitive. The original conception was the possessive idea: "mid swurde pæs heofonlican graman of slegen" (*Ælfric, Selected Homilies*, p. 59), "slain by the sword of the divine wrath." Here wrath is pictured as having a sword, but at the same time we can think of wrath as a sword. The word-order here indicates that the possessive idea is not prominent and that the derived figurative appositive sense is intended, i.e., the picture of God's wrath as a sword. Where

the original possessive force is strong the genitive precedes: "Cant-waraburg," "the Kentish people's city," i.e., "Canterbury"; "Rome-burh," "Rome's city"; "Romanaburh," "the city of the Romans"; "Suðseaxna mægð," "the Province of the South Saxons"; "uppan olivetes dune" (Corpus, Matt. 26:30), "upon the Mount of Olives"; "on Iunies monðe" (*Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1110), "in the month of June." The position of the genitive before the noun in these geographical names is very persistent in Old English. The writer can find the genitive *after* the noun only in the Lindisfarne MS; "on duni olebearuas" (Matt. 26:30), "upon the Mount of Olives." As this is a mere gloss where each English word is written over the corresponding Latin word, we cannot ascertain from it the actual order of the words in usual speech. This order is, however, found in other Germanic languages: "in swumfsl Siloamis" (Wulfila, John 9:7), "in the pool of Siloam"; "at ibdaljin pis fairgunjis alewabagme" (*ibid.*, Luke 19:37), "at the descent of the Mount of Olives"; "in berge oliboumo" (Tatian, 145. 1), "on the Mount of Olives"; "brunno Iacobes" (*ibid.*, 8. 7), "Jacob's Well," etc. In spite of the confirmatory testimony of these languages it does not seem probable to the writer that the Old English genitive ever stood after the governing noun in these geographical expressions. It is true that there was a general tendency for the genitive to shift to the place after the noun, but there was a factor that hindered this development in case of geographical terms. The expressions very early lost their syntactical independence as they had become mere names. They had become completely crystallized. In the same manner we are today prevented from changing "Blairstown" (village in Iowa) into "Town of Blair." There are two different types here: "Rome [gen.] burh" and "Marmadonia ceaster" (pure apposition). In both cases the word for city follows. There was elsewhere a tendency for the genitive to move to the position after the noun and in the pure appositional type for the appositive to move to the position before the noun. In this group, however, the first of these moves never took place. There are a number of examples of the second move: "to pære byrig Hierusalem" (*Ælfric, S.H.*, p. 34). This type became fixed in German, but did not develop strength in English and soon disappeared, because, in general, the words *burh* or *byrig*, *ham*, *scire*, *wic*, *ceaster*,

etc., had become fixed *after* the noun and could not be moved. The expression "pa ceaster Gloweceaster" is unknown to the writer. Such a repetition was an impossibility until after the elements had been thoroughly fused and the meaning of *ceaster* had been lost. Then it became possible to say "the city of Gloucester" (pro. gloster). Of course, for the same reason *burh*, *ham*, *scire*, *wic*, etc., could not be prefixed. We cannot even today say the "shire of Lancashire," for the final element of "Lancashire" is too plainly felt. Hence the usage of placing the words *burh*, etc., before the noun developed very slowly in English. The first instance found by the writer is very interesting: "forbearn eall meast se burh of Lincolne" (*Saxon Chronicle* for year 1123), "the city of Lincoln was almost entirely consumed by fire." Here *burh* is not placed before *Lincolne* to indicate the same meaning that Ælfric had in mind when he wrote: "we sceolon faran to þære byrig Hierusalem" in the passage quoted above. Ælfric merely desired to say that the place where they should go was a city. In the passage from the *Saxon Chronicle* the word *burh* is not an attributive descriptive adjective element as in Ælfric's sentence, but a noun with concrete meaning. The *houses* and *people* of Lincoln were badly injured by the fire. Thus we find here what we have so often seen above, that the vivid force of "of" indicating an integral part or inherence led to the use of the analytic form. It is interesting to compare this example with a similar one in Ælfric's *Homilies*: "gewat to pam setle heofenan rices" (p. 64), "he went to the eternal abode of the heavenly kingdom." Ælfric represents by placing the synthetic form after the governing noun that the idea of possession has yielded to the conception of an integral part or inherence. One of the things that was inseparably connected with the heavenly kingdom was an eternal abode or resting-place. The same idea is found in the following example: "to epele þæs upplican lifes orpian" (*ibid.*, p. 56), "to pant for his native land in the celestial life." A century after Ælfric's day his synthetic genitives were by a mere formal force, the loss of inflection, replaced by the analytic form. The use of "of," however, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries where inflection or non-inflection is sometimes optional, even in connection with inflection, shows clearly that there was a tendency to use the "of" for its own sake, as it was felt as a clearer expression

of the idea of an integral part: "ðat land of *thare* heuenliche Ierusalem" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 111), "the land of the heavenly Jerusalem." The author of this book urges his readers to flee this world and seek the land that belongs to the heavenly Jerusalem. Here the inflection of the definite article *thare* indicates that the impelling force here is not the lack of inflection but the natural inclination to use the expressive "of." Another entry in the *Saxon Chronicle* bearing the same date as the passage quoted above also illustrates the growth of the new tendency to use the analytic form: "pone biscoprice of Lincolne," "the bishopric of Lincoln." Here the diocese is represented as belonging to Lincoln, not in the old sense of possession, but in the new sense of close relation. Compare with the ninth-century genitive form "*Westseaxna* biscophad" (Bede, *E.H.*, p. 18), "the bishopric of the West Saxons." The new idea is also seen in: "Toforen ðare burh of Ierusalem is an muchel dune" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 103), "Before the city of Jerusalem is a great hill," i.e., before the place that belonged to the city, i.e., was occupied by the city, was a hill. We have again the same idea in "upe ðare heije dune of hersumnesse" (*ibid.*, p. 111), "upon the high hill of Obedience," i.e., on the high steep hill that we usually find in close association with a difficult duty as when Abraham went up the hill upon which he was to sacrifice his son. In all these examples we have illustrations of the analytic appositive genitive. It was only natural that this new form was extended to the appositive group of geographical terms discussed above, for the new form was used so much that it had lost in many cases its full original force and was now suitable for use as a general expression for apposition. Already in 1200 A.D. we find it here: "uppe pe munte of Synay" (*Vices and Virtues*, p. 137), "upon Mount Sinai." As can be seen by the modern rendering, this new form was not in this one instance indorsed by later usage, but we have it in many other terms: "Gulf of Suez," etc. A little before 1200 in *Old English Homilies*, Series 2, we find both the old and new forms: "ieursalemes bureh" (p. 147), "pe burehg bethelem" (p. 35), "pe bureh of ierusalem" (p. 89), "munt olivette" (p. 89).

The analytic form developed much later in the appositive category than in any other. In the group of geographical terms this

was caused by the peculiar formal difficulties described above. In other groups the placing of the synthetic genitive after the noun sufficiently differentiated the appositive from the possessive idea to satisfy the first demands for a clearer expression. The loss of inflection and wide use of "of" elsewhere later suggested its usefulness here. It was quite natural that it came into use late, for its original force was not as vividly felt in this category as in most of the others. The development of the analytic form began, aside from one little group mentioned below, about 1123 A.D. as near as the writer can get at it. It thus fell in the earliest period of French influence, but it was not probably affected by it. The vocabulary of English at this time was still very little influenced by the French. Even later in *Vices and Virtues*, written about 1200, the writer has discovered only sixteen words of French origin: *Seruisse* (p. 3), *religiun* (p. 5), *obedience* (p. 7), *besantes* (p. 17), *sermuns* (p. 35), *pais* (p. 59), *grace* (p. 67), *richeise* (p. 69), *charite* (p. 99), *iustise* (p. 105), *saltere* (p. 113), *patriarches* and *profietes* (p. 115), *Angles* (p. 121), *discipline* (p. 127), *spus* (131). In a number of cases English words are in other parts of the book used instead of the French words and in several instances are more common. The French words in this book are few and far between and were hard to find, as the writer had no printed vocabulary to work from. The words with three exceptions belong to the language of the church, which was under French influence. When we consider that the author of this book was himself a clergyman and under French influence we are surprised to see how few foreign elements there were in his English. Although he uses the word *iustise*, he employs English words for "judgment," "judge," "sentence." French legal terms had not as yet begun to appear in simple spoken English. These sixteen foreign words are the forerunners of the mighty throng that began to crowd into English fifty years later. There was as yet even in the speech of this clergyman no trace of the commonest French words which soon became indispensable in the language of the church: "Savior," "Creator," "Trinity," "spirit," "virgin," "prayer," "preach," "sacrifice," "salvation," "repentance," "reveal," "mercy," "pity," "pardon," "tempt," "the commandments," "conscience," "confession," "heretic," "chastity," "virtue," "vice," etc. For all

these expressions and many more this English man of God used simple English words. Hence the present title which the book bears, *Vices and Virtues*, looks very odd. In the simple language of the author it would read: "Unðeawes and Mihtes." The writer is not an etymologist and he may have overlooked a French word or two, but it seems quite sure that the language of this English writer is almost pure English, i.e., the vocabulary which from different sources had become established in the Old English period. The natural inference is that the syntax is also pure English, for it seems improbable that French could influence English syntax before it influenced the vocabulary. This would be a very unusual procedure. The writer has often heard Germans say who have lived long in Chicago: "Ich habe eine Kar geketscht." Aside from mere grammatical forms there are two words in this sentence. Both are from American speech: *Kar* = "car," *geketscht* from American "ketch" (= "catch"). Every word in this sentence is American, but the syntax is good German. It seems quite improbable that French could have influenced English syntax between 1066 and 1200 A.D. before it began to materially influence its vocabulary. Even in the later period, in the years 1250-1400, when French changed the entire character of our vocabulary, the syntax remained in all essential features true to its Germanic character. The simple language of *Vices and Virtues* seems to the writer closely linked with older English. As the analytic genitive in this book is in common use in every category it seems quite sure that the entire development is of English origin.

Let us now return to the appositive genitive. While in English the analytic form became general with names of cities, the pure appositional construction triumphed in German: "the city of Berlin," but "die Stadt Berlin," etc. Elsewhere there is not only often a difference of usage in the two languages, but usage in the same language varies widely. We find the old and the new side by side, the genitive appositive in one case and pure apposition in another case in the same category: "The month of May," but "der Monat Mai"; "the cry of fire," but "der Ruf Feuer"; "the title of king," but "der Titel König"; "the house of York," but "das Haus York"; "the island of Great Britain," but in poetry with the old form "the government of Britain's Isle" (Shakspeare); "Mount of

Olives," but "Mount Hood," etc.; "The Ohio river," but "the state of Ohio"; "the kingdom of Prussia," but "das Königreich Preussen"; "Glen Miller" (a park in Richmond, Ind.), but "Lincoln Park" (in Chicago); "Moore's Hill" (Indiana town), but "Bunker Hill"; "Bull Run," but "Paddy's Run" (a little Indiana run), etc. In the little city where the writer was born there was a "Starr's Hill" where the boys in winter spent some of the happiest hours of their lives, and a "Starr Hame Works" where hames were manufactured. The hill continued to bear this name long after it passed out of Mr. Starr's hands. Later it was razed to fill up other parts of the city, but in the memory of many gray-haired men it is still a reality. Thus usage is not only very capricious, but also intimately connected with local history, so that even a skilled linguist must learn his language over again when he moves to another section of the country.

In none of the appositive groups mentioned above did the analytic genitive develop in the Old English period as far as we can see. In one group, however, we find the analytic form already in Old English: "bisin of teum hehstaldum," "the parable of the ten Virgins." This expression occurs in the Lindisfarne MS on p. 22 of the introduction to Matthew. It occurs many times, as the parables of Jesus are here summarized. The older analytic genitive also occurs. The English glossarist simply followed the Latin original. Both forms were familiar to him, for he never gives the synthetic form alongside the analytic to indicate that the analytic form is not idiomatic English. The use of the analytic form here shows that the old synthetic form did not distinctly bring out the idea that seemed to lie in the genitive here. The genitive indicates *reference* more than it suggests *possession*, hence the "of," the parable *of* or *about* the ten virgins. This was a new development and the idea was so strongly felt that it received a formal expression in the language. In German we also find "das Gleichnis vom Säemanne." Later other examples followed: "the fable of the crow" and "die Fabel von der Krähe," "the epic of Don Juan," etc. The growth of this group has been hindered by a fatal ambiguity in both German and English. In "the novel of *Ivanhoe*" the idea may be clear, but in many cases the name following the governing word might be felt as the name of

the author instead of the title. Thus we prefer to say: "the novel *Henry Esmond*," "der Roman *Wilhelm Meister*," etc.

We now come to the only place where we have discovered French influence. It is the analytic appositive genitive so common in both English and German in lively utterances of approval or disapproval, or in emphatic language: "a devil of a fellow," "a peach of a boy," "a jewel of a knife"; "ein alter Schelm von Lohnbedienter" (Heine). "So etwas Verschiedenes von Brüdern habe ich nun eigentlich nie wieder gesehen" (Wildenbruch). These expressions correspond to the well-known French formations "un diable d'homme," "un fripon d'enfant," etc. This analytic genitive is the modern form of the old Latin synthetic appositive genitive as found in colloquial speech; "flagitium hominis," "monstrum mulieris," "scelus viri," etc. The construction has become quite productive in both German and English, producing a large number of expressions, but all with a general similarity of meaning. It is difficult to fit this group into a native English or German genitive category. All we can do is to mention and describe it under the appositive genitive. In reality, however, it does not have anything in common with this English or German category. Although it is difficult for the grammarian to classify this construction, it has become a live part of English and German colloquial speech. It in reality does not belong to our *grammar* but rather to our *vocabulary*. We have embodied these expressions into our speech as we have taken many other French phrases.

Before we bring our study to a close we desire to mention an important development which began in the Old English period. The synthetic genitive which limited adjectives had become so loaded with meanings that very often the meaning was quite doubtful. This rich unfolding of genitive meanings is the result of a long development. One shade of meaning developed from another until there was an embarrassment of riches. Alongside this development there was another, the development of the use of prepositions in connection with nouns to indicate more accurately adverbial relations. This movement began in connection with verbs but the spread of the same usage to adjectives was natural and inevitable. The first case known to the writer is found in the Lindisfarne MS: "bolla full of æcced"

(John 19:29), "a sponge full of vinegar," "spongiam plenam aceto." There are other examples, but in this study of the adnominal genitive the development of the adverbial form cannot be discussed at length. The subject has been mentioned here only to show that the real source of all forms with "of" was not in the lack of declensional forms, but it was often in the demand for clearer and more graphic expression. The German language has in large measure preserved its inflectional systems, but it has developed here a long list of prepositional constructions with a fine shading of meaning to take the place of the old colorless adverbial genitive. This relieved the synthetic genitive of a great part of its load and made this old form more useful in adnominal relations.

In the light of the above facts the writer has recently read with a feeling of pain the following words in a book that represents one of the greatest achievements of English scholarship: "Whether 'of' might have come independently in English to be a substitute for the genitive is doubtful. In the expression of social or national origin we find 'of' and the genitive appositive interchangeable already in the ninth century . . . and this might have extended in time to other uses; but the great intrusion of 'of' upon the old domain of the genitive which speedily extended to the supersession of the Old English genitive after adjectives, verbs, and even substantives was mainly due to the influence of French *de*" (*New English Dictionary*, under "of"). This statement full of false conceptions and based upon general impressions and not upon facts will long be the source of erroneous conceptions that will be scattered all over the world. It is discouraging when we think that in the very nature of things, by reason of our short vision and imperfect knowledge, the most ardent lovers of truth must needs often join hands with the powers of darkness to scatter error. The supreme triumph of absolute truth seems far away.

GEORGE O. CURME

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY